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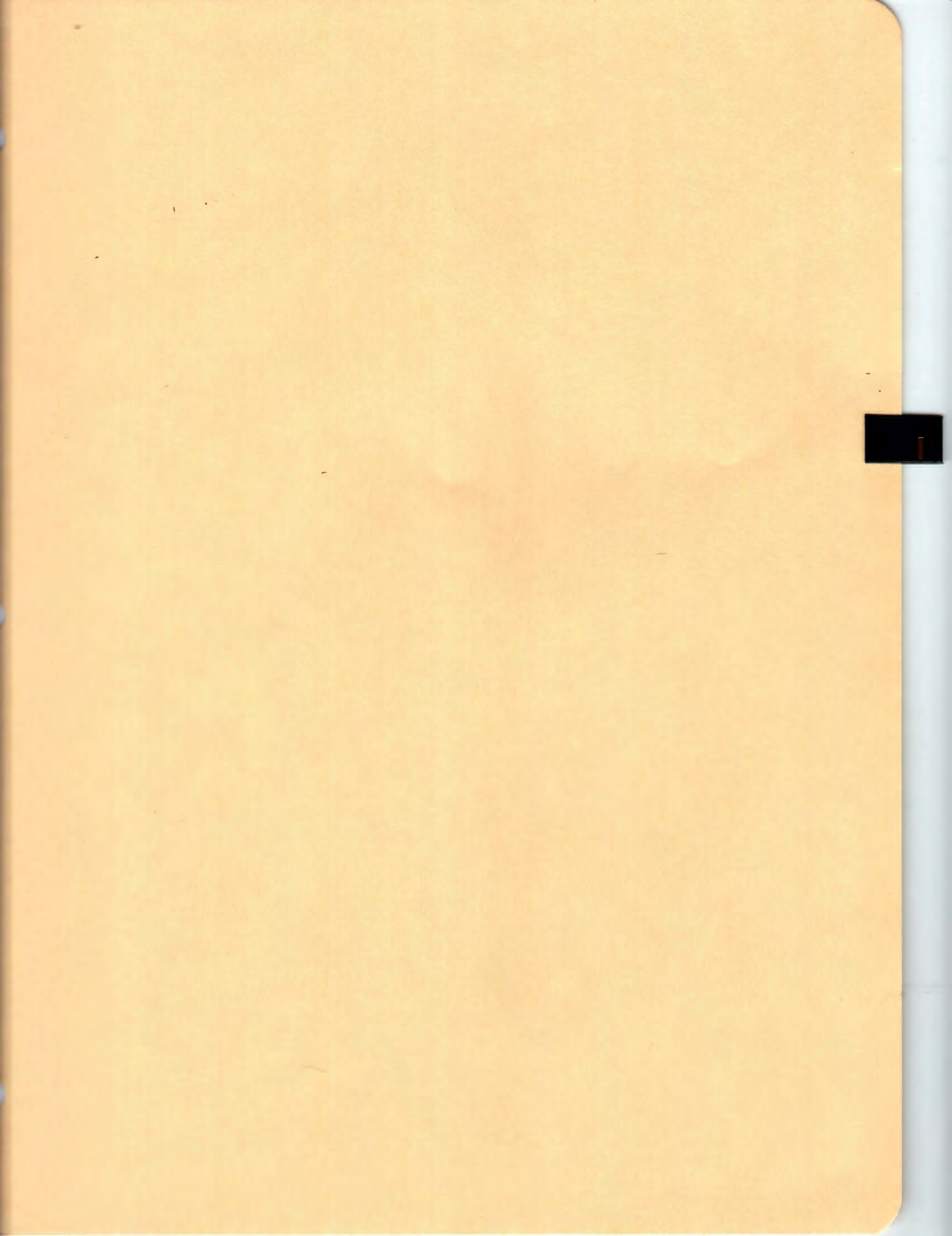
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(Maseng/AB)
May 28, 1982
4:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL TOAST TO HER MAJESTY, THE QUEEN OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM, WINDSOR CASTLE, JUNE 8, 1982

Your Majesty, Nancy and I are honored to be your guests at this beautiful and historic castle. It was from here that King Richard the Lionheart rode out to the Crusades, and from here that his brother, King John, left to sign the Magna Carta. It is a rare privilege to be part of the rich history of Windsor Castle.

As we rode over these magnificent grounds this morning, I thought again about how our people share a common past. We are bound by so much more than just language: many of our values, beliefs and principles of government were nurtured on this soil. I also thought of how our future security and prosperity depend on the continued unity of Britain and America.

This place symbolizes both tradition and renewal, as generation after generation of your family makes it their home. We in America share your excitement about the impending birth of a child to the Prince and the Princess of Wales. We pray God will continue to bless your family with health, happiness and wisdom.

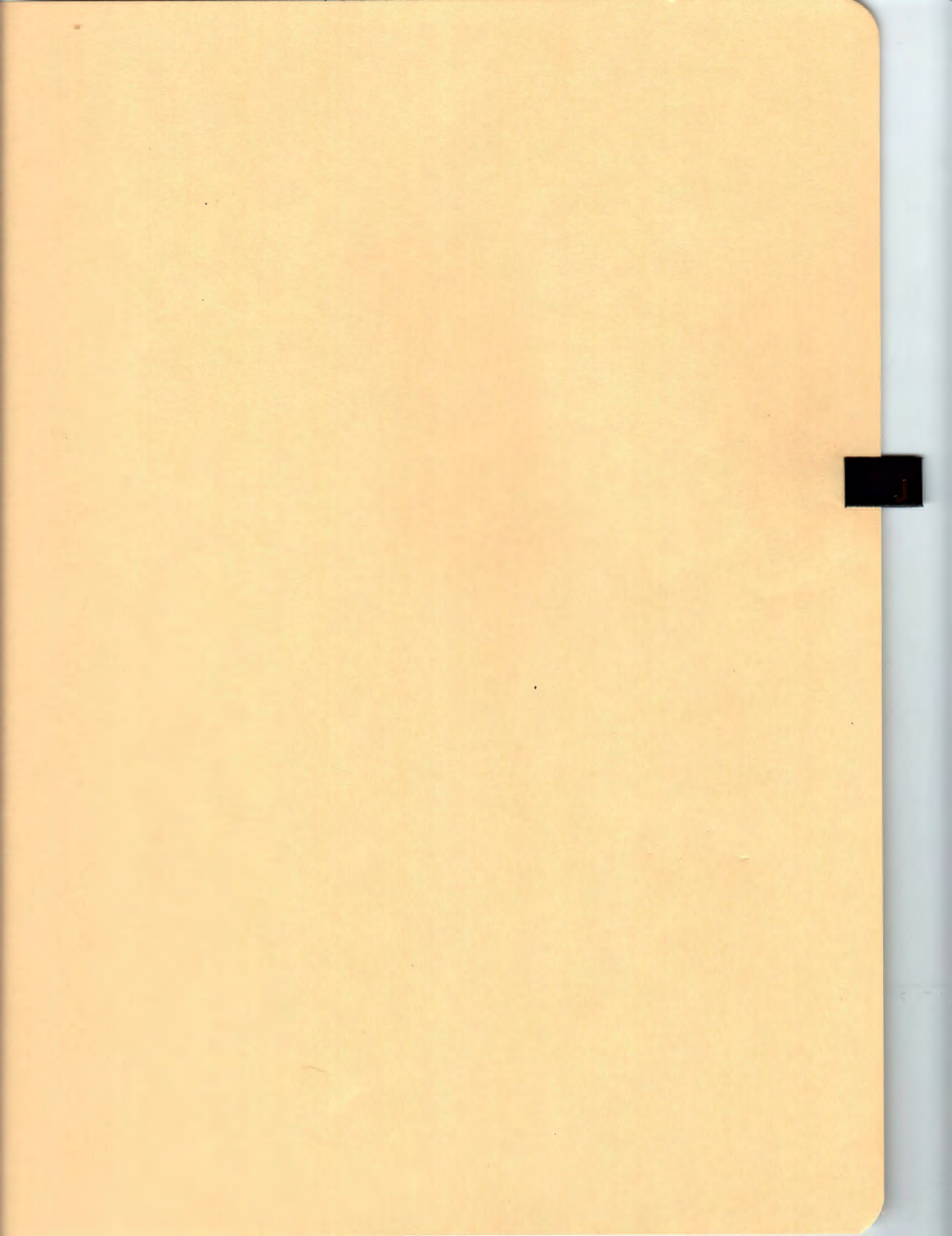
It has been said that the greatest glory of a freeborn people is to transmit that freedom to their children. That is a responsibility our people share. Together, and eager for peace, we must face an unstable world where violence and terrorism,

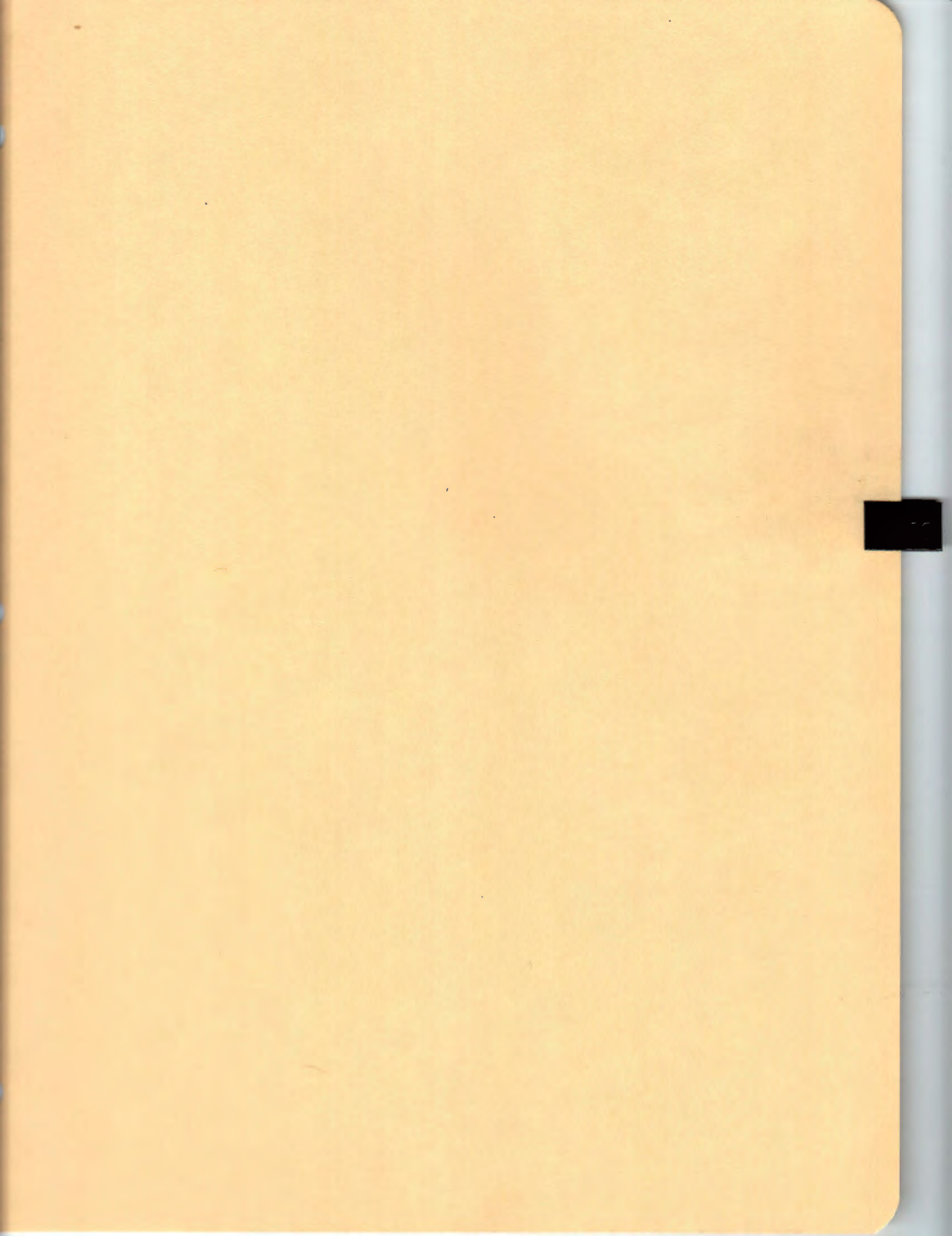
aggression and tyranny constantly encroach on human rights. Together, committed to the preservation of freedom and our way of life, we must strengthen a weakening international order and restore the world's faith in peace and the rule of law.

A great American, Dr. Martin Luther King, once said that he had an abiding faith in our people and in the future of mankind. I share his faith and apply it to free people everywhere. The challenge of freedom is to reject an unacceptable present for what we can cause the future to be. Together, it is within our power to confront the threats to peace and freedom and to triumph over them.

Your Majesty, Nancy and I, and all of our party, are very grateful for your invitation to visit Great Britain and for your gracious hospitality. Our visit has been enormously productive, and has strengthened the ties that bind our peoples. I would like to propose a toast to Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom, to the continued unity of our two nations and the preservation of our freedom for generations to come.

To Her Majesty, the Queen.





(Bakshian)
June 1, 1982
3:30 p.m.

DEPARTURE REMARKS FOLLOWING SCHMIDT BILATERAL MEETING, BONN
JUNE 9, 1982

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Chancellor Schmidt and I have just concluded very useful discussions on a broad range of issues of concern to us both. The opportunity to exchange views with the Chancellor is always valuable. Our consultations are, I believe, invaluable to strengthening even further the German-American partnership.

Let me also thank the Chancellor for inviting me to visit the Federal Republic of Germany, to meet with your leaders and to underline the close ties which exist between Germany, the United States and our two peoples.

The postwar period has been characterized by both unity and division. Unity of the Western democracies has been the major reason for peace and prosperity in our countries. Our common dedication to pluralistic democracy has also sent a signal throughout the world. Together we have proven beyond doubt that democracy is the best hope for mankind.

Unfortunately, the fruits of democracy have not been spread evenly throughout the world. The tragic division of Europe is a scar which cuts painfully through Western civilization. Removal of this division must remain one of the most urgent tasks of free men everywhere.

Nowhere are these two aspects of the postwar world more evident than in Germany. The Federal Republic stands as a bulwark of freedom, both in Europe and throughout the world. German dedication to free, Western ideals has helped create a solid foundation for the Atlantic community of nations and for the European community. And German-American friendship has developed into a truly special relationship. I am confident that our friendship will remain firm in the challenging days ahead -- a true guarantee of freedom for both our peoples.

At the same time, the German people have been forced to live for more than three decades with the painful division of their country. One German in five has been deprived of the basic democratic rights which we hold so dearly. You feel each day the sadness of division -- of families torn apart, of young people denied freedom of choice, of older people cut off forever from their countrymen in the West.

It is especially fitting that the NATO leaders meet this week in Bonn to rededicate themselves to the common tasks of maintaining our democracies and of overcoming the divisions which still plague Europe -- of recommitting the West to protecting the peace through adequate defense programs.

It is also fitting that I conclude my trip to Europe with a visit to Bonn -- and to Berlin. Nowhere in the world does the United States have more friends than it does in the Federal Republic. Nowhere in the world are family, business and

professional ties more deeply developed than between Germany and America.

Our two democracies have a special, shared mission, one of which we can both be proud. If Western prosperity and democracy are to be protected, we -- the United States and Germany -- must remain at the forefront of the effort. By maintaining German-American unity, we preserve the cohesion of the entire West.

We will succeed in this task and I believe this visit will help underline how strong our unity remains. I am grateful to Chancellor Schmidt for providing this opportunity to discuss ways of making our cooperation even more fruitful in the crucial years ahead and I extend to him, and all Germans, the continued friendship and best wishes of the American people.

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(Parvin/AB/RR)
June 1, 1982
12 noon

SPEECH: BUNDESTAG
JUNE 9, 1982

President Stuecklen (Stook len), Chancellor Schmidt, members of the Bundestag, distinguished guests. . .

Perhaps because I've just come from London, I have this urge to quote the great Dr. Johnson, who said, "The feeling of friendship is like that of being comfortably filled with roast beef." Well, I feel very much filled with friendship this afternoon. And I bring you the warmest regards and goodwill of the American people.

I am very honored to speak to you today and thus to all the people of Germany. Next year will mark the 300th anniversary of the first German settlement in the American colonies. The 13 families who came to our new land were the forerunners of more than 7 million German immigrants to the United States. Today more Americans claim German ancestry than any other.

These Germans cleared and cultivated our land, built our industries, and advanced our arts and sciences. In honor of 300 years of German contributions to America, President Carstens and I agreed to meet in Philadelphia next October to celebrate the occasion.

The German people have given us so much, we like to think that we've repaid some of that debt by helping to inspire the democratic spirit here in Germany. Our American Revolution was the first revolution in modern history to be fought for the right of self-government and the guarantee of civil liberties. That

spirit was contagious. In 1849 the Frankfurt Parliament's statement of basic human rights guaranteed freedom of expression, freedom of religion, and equality before the law. These principles live today in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic. Many peoples to the East still wait for such rights.

The United States is proud of your democracy, but we cannot take credit for it. Heinrich Heine (Hine rish High nuh), in speaking of those who built the awe-inspiring cathedrals of medieval times, said that "in those days people had convictions. We moderns have only opinions and it requires something more than opinions to build a Gothic cathedral." Over the past 30 years, the convictions of the German people have built a cathedral of democracy -- a great and glorious testament to your ideals.

We in America genuinely admire the free society you have built in only a few decades. And we understand all the better what you have accomplished because of our own history. Americans speak with the deepest reverence of those Founding Fathers and first citizens who gave us the freedoms we enjoy today. And even though they lived over 200 years ago, we carry them in our hearts as well as our history books.

I believe future generations of Germans will look to you here today and to your fellow Germans with the same profound respect and appreciation. You have built a free society with an abiding faith in human dignity -- the crowning ideal of Western civilization. This will not be forgotten. You will be saluted and honored by this Republic's descendants over the centuries to come.

Yesterday, before the British Parliament, I spoke of the values of Western civilization and the beliefs that bind us together. In many ways, in many places, those ideals are being tested today. We are meeting this afternoon between two important summits, the gathering of leading industrial democracies at Versailles and the assembling of the Atlantic Alliance here in Bonn tomorrow. Critical and complex problems face us. But our dilemmas will be made easier if we remember our partnership is based on a common Western heritage.

I believe this partnership of the Atlantic Alliance nations is motivated primarily by the search for peace. Inner peace for our citizens and peace among nations.

Why inner peace? Because democracy allows for self-expression. It respects man's dignity and creativity. It operates by rule of law, not by terror or coercion. It is government with the consent of the governed. As a result, citizens of the Atlantic Alliance enjoy an unprecedented level of material and spiritual well-being. And they are free to find their own personal peace.

We also seek peace among nations. The Psalmist said, "seek peace and pursue it." Our foreign policies are based on this principle and directed toward this end. The noblest objective of our diplomacy is the patient and difficult task of reconciling our adversaries to peace. And I know we all look forward to the day when the only industry of war will be the research of historians.

But the simple hope for peace is not enough. We must remember something Frederich Schiller (Freed rish Shiller) said, "The most pious man can't stay in peace if it doesn't please his evil neighbor." So there must be a method to our search, a method that recognizes the dangers and realities of the world. During Chancellor Schmidt's state visit to Washington last year, I said that your Republic was "perched on a cliff of freedom." I wasn't saying anything the German people do not already know. Living as you do in the heart of a divided Europe, you can see more starkly than others that there are governments at peace neither with their own peoples nor the world.

The search for peace cannot ignore the military power of our potential adversaries or the necessity to keep our own defenses adequate. We must be prepared to preserve the values we hold dear and the freedoms we cherish. We must be resolute in protecting the Western ideals our societies have struggled so hard to achieve. And let me say the defense of freedom is in no way contrary to a secure world, nor does it preclude social progress.

I don't believe any reasonable observer can deny there is a threat to both peace and freedom today. It is as stark as the gash of a border that separates the German people. We are menaced by a power that openly condemns our values and answers our restraint with a relentless military build-up.

We cannot simply assume every nation wants the peace we so earnestly desire. The Polish people would tell us there are those who would use military force to repress others who want

only basic human rights. The freedom fighters of Afghanistan would tell us as well that the threat of aggression has not receded from the world.

I believe the possibility of military coercion has never been more real, and we must continue to improve our defenses if we are to preserve peace and freedom. This is not an impossible task; for almost 40 years, we have succeeded in deterring war. Our method has been to organize our defensive capabilities, both nuclear and conventional, so that an aggressor could have no hope of military victory. The Alliance has carried its strength not as a battle flag, but as a banner of peace. Deterrence has kept that peace, and we must continue to take the steps necessary to make deterrence credible.

This depends in part on a strong America. A national effort, entailing sacrifices by the American people, is now under way to make long-overdue improvements in our military posture. The American people support this effort because they understand how fundamental it is to keeping the peace they so fervently desire.

We also are resolved to maintain the presence of well-equipped and trained forces in Europe, and our strategic forces will be modernized and remain committed to the Alliance. By these actions, the people of the United States are saying, "We are with you Germany. You are not alone." Our adversaries would be foolishly mistaken should they gamble that Americans would abandon their Alliance responsibilities, no matter how severe the test.

Alliance security depends on a fully credible conventional defense to which all Allies contribute. There is a danger that any conflict could escalate to a nuclear war. Strong conventional forces can make the danger of conventional or nuclear conflict more remote. Reasonable strength in and of itself is not bad; it is honorable when used to maintain peace or defend deeply held beliefs.

One of the first chores is to fulfill our commitments to each other by repairing our conventional defenses. This must include improving the readiness of our standing forces and the ability of those forces to operate as one. We must also apply the West's technological genius to improving our conventional deterrence.

There can be no doubt that we as an Alliance have the means to improve our conventional defenses. Our peoples hold values of individual liberty and dignity that time and again they have proven willing to defend. Our economic strength vastly exceeds that of our adversaries. Our free system has produced technological advantages that other systems, with their stifling ideologies, cannot hope to equal. All of these resources are available to our defense.

Yes, many of our nations currently are experiencing economic difficulties. Yet we must nevertheless guarantee that our security does not suffer as a result. We've made strides in conventional defense over the last few years despite our economic problems, and we have disproved the pessimists who contend that

our efforts are futile. The more we close the conventional gap, the less the risks of aggression or nuclear conflict.

The soil of Germany, and every other ally, is of vital concern to each member of the Alliance, and this fundamental commitment is embodied in the North Atlantic Treaty. But it will be an empty pledge unless we insure that American forces are ready to reinforce Europe and Europe is ready to receive them. I am encouraged by the recent agreement on Wartime Host Nation Support. This pact strengthens our ability to answer aggression in Europe and demonstrates our common determination to respond to attack.

Just as each ally shares fully in the security of the Alliance, each is responsible for shouldering a fair share of the burden. Now that, of course, often leads to a difference of opinion, and criticism of our Alliance is as old as the partnership itself. But voices have now been raised on both sides of the Atlantic that mistake the inevitable process of adjustment within the Alliance for a dramatic divergence of interests. Some Americans think that Europeans are too little concerned for their own security; they would unilaterally reduce the number of American troops deployed in Europe. And in Europe itself, we hear the idea that the American presence, rather than contributing to peace, either has no deterrent value or actually increases the risk that our allies may be attacked.

These arguments ignore both the history and the reality of the transatlantic coalition.

Let me assure you that the American commitment to Europe remains steady and strong. Europe's shores are our shores. Europe's borders are our borders. And we will stand with you in defense of our heritage of liberty and dignity. The American people recognize Europe's substantial contributions to our joint security. Nowhere is that contribution more evident than here in the Federal Republic. German citizens host the forces of six nations. German soldiers and reservists provide the backbone of NATO's conventional deterrent in the heartland of Europe. Your Bundeswehr (Boon des vair) is a model for the integration of defense needs with a democratic way of life. And you have not shrunk from the heavy responsibility of accepting the nuclear forces necessary for deterrence.

I ask your help in fulfilling another responsibility. Many American citizens don't believe their counterparts in Europe -- especially younger citizens -- really understand the U.S. presence there. If you will work toward explaining the U.S. role to people on this side of the Atlantic, I will explain it to those on the other side.

In recent months, both in your country and mine, there has been renewed public concern about the threat of nuclear war and the arms buildup. I know it is not easy especially for the German people to live in [the Zeitgeist,] the gale of intimidation that blows from the East.

If I might quote Heine (High nuh) again, he almost foretold the fears of nuclear war when he wrote, "Wild, dark times are rumbling toward us, and the prophet who wishes to write a new

apocalypse will have to invent entirely new beasts, and beasts so terrible that the ancient animal symbols . . . will seem like cooing doves and cupids in comparison." The nuclear threat is a terrible beast. Perhaps the banner carried in one of the nuclear demonstrations here in Germany said it best. The sign read, "I am afraid." I know of no Western leader who doesn't sympathize with that earnest plea. To those who march for peace, my heart is with you. I would be at the head of your parade if I believed marching alone could bring about a more secure world.

The question is how to proceed. We must think through the consequences of proposed steps for reducing these dangers.

Those who advocate that we unilaterally forego the modernization of our forces must prove that this will enhance our security and lead to moderation by the other side -- in short, that it will advance, rather than undermine, the preservation of the peace. The weight of recent history does not support this notion.

Those who demand that we renounce the use of a crucial element of our deterrent strategy must show how this would decrease the likelihood of war. It is only by comparison with a nuclear war that the suffering caused by conventional war seems a lesser evil. Our goal must be to deter war of any kind.

And those who decry the failure of arms control efforts to achieve substantial results must consider where the fault lies. I would remind them it is the United States that has proposed to ban all land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles -- the missiles most threatening Europe. It is the United States that

has proposed and will pursue deep cuts in strategic systems. And it is the West that has long sought the detailed exchanges of information on forces and effective verification procedures.

We in the West -- Germans, Americans, our other allies -- are deeply committed to continuing efforts to restrict the arms competition. Common sense demands that we persevere. I invite those who genuinely seek effective and lasting arms control to stand behind the far-reaching proposals that we have put forward.

On November 18 I outlined a broad and ambitious arms control program. One element calls for reducing land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles to zero on each side. If carried out, it would eliminate the growing threat to Western Europe posed by the USSR's modern SS-20 rockets, and it would make unnecessary the NATO decision to deploy American intermediate-range systems. And by the way, I cannot understand why there is a greater fear of weapons NATO is to deploy than weapons the Soviet Union already has deployed. Our proposal is fair because it imposes equal limits and obligations on both sides and it calls for significant reductions, not merely a capping of an existing high level of destructive power. As you know, we have made this proposal in Geneva, where negotiations have been under way since the end of November last year. We intend to pursue those negotiations intensively. I regard them as a significant test of the Soviets' willingness to enter into meaningful arms control agreements.

On May 9, we proposed to the Soviet Union that strategic arms reductions talks begin this month in Geneva. The USSR has

agreed, and talks will begin on June 29. There is no more important enterprise than the effort to curb these weapons. In the first phase of negotiations, we will seek to reduce the number of warheads; in the second phase, we will seek to decrease the throw weights. We intend to undertake these negotiations with the same care and seriousness of purpose that has marked our preparations over the last several months.

Another element of the program I outlined was a call for reductions in conventional forces in Europe. From the earliest postwar years, the Western democracies have faced the ominous reality that massive Soviet conventional forces would remain stationed where they do not belong. The muscle of Soviet forces in Central Europe far exceeds legitimate defense needs. Their presence is made more threatening still by a military doctrine that emphasizes mobility and surprise attack. And as history shows, these troops have built a legacy of intimidation and repression.

In response, the NATO Allies must show they have the will and capacity to deter any conventional attack or any attempt to intimidate us. Yet we also will continue the search for responsible ways to reduce NATO and Warsaw Pact military personnel to equal levels.

In recent weeks, we in the Alliance have consulted on how best to invigorate the Vienna negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions. Based on these consultations, Western representatives in the Vienna talks soon will propose the text of a treaty by which the two alliances would reduce their respective

ground force personnel in verifiable stages to a total of 700,000 men and their combined ground and air force personnel to a level of 900,000 men.

While the agreement would not eliminate the threat nor spare our citizens the task of maintaining a substantial defensive force, it could constitute a major step toward a safer Europe for both East and West. It could lead to military stability at lower levels and lessen the dangers of miscalculation and of surprise attack. And it also would demonstrate the political will of the two alliances to enhance stability by limiting their forces in the central area of their military competition.

The West has established a clear set of goals. One. We as an Alliance will press forward with plans to improve our own conventional forces in Europe. At the same time, we propose an arms control agreement to equalize conventional forces at a significantly lower level.

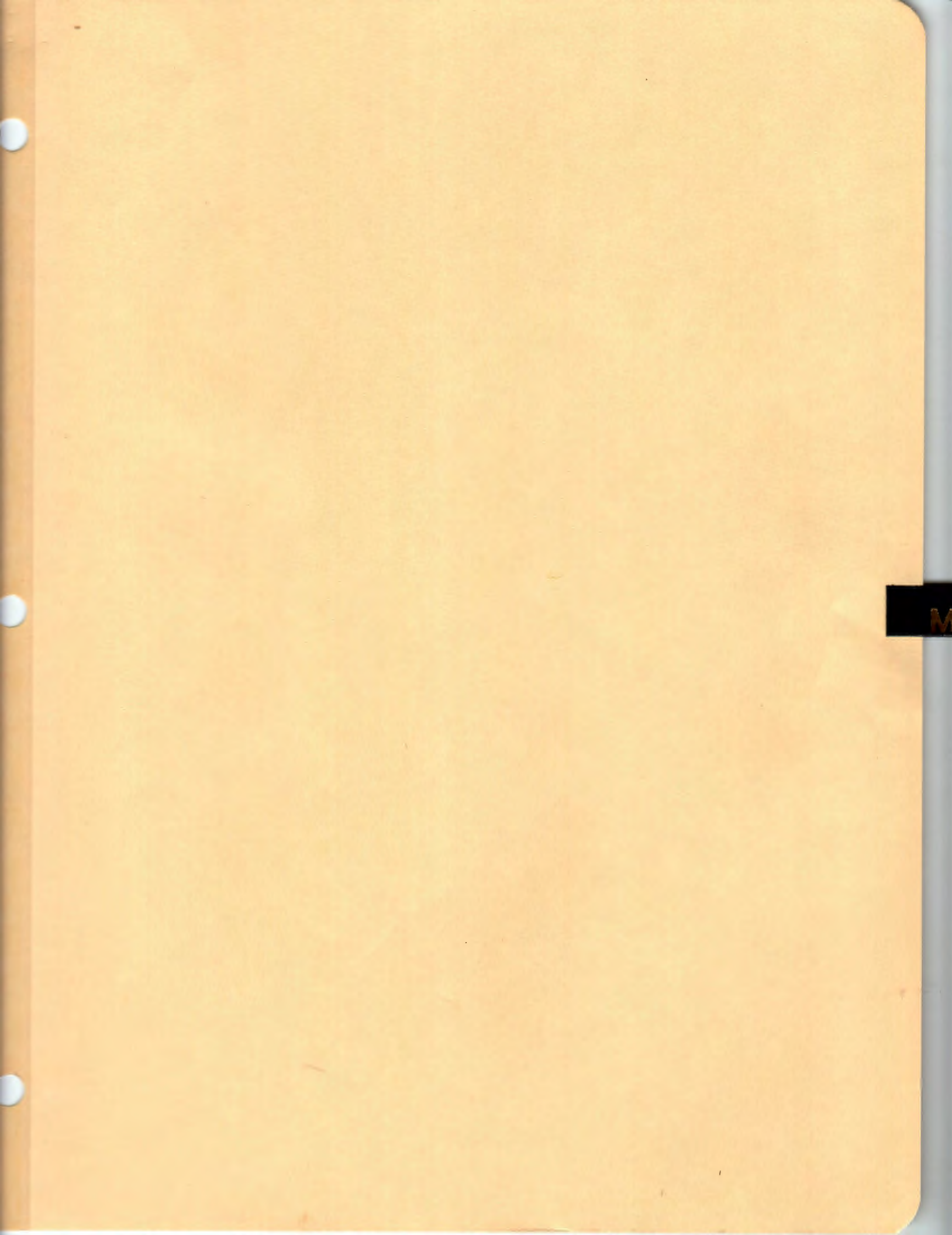
Two. We must and we will move ahead with our preparations to modernize our nuclear forces in Europe. But, again, we also will work unceasingly to gain acceptance in Geneva of our proposal to ban land-based intermediate-range nuclear missiles.

And three. In the United States, we will move forward with the plans I announced last year to modernize our strategic nuclear forces, which play so vital a role in maintaining peace by deterring war. Yet we also have proposed that Strategic Arms Reductions Talks begin, and we will pursue them determinedly.

In each of these areas, our policies are based on the conviction that a stable military balance at the lowest possible

level will help further the cause of peace. The other side will respond in good faith to these initiatives only if it believes we are resolved to provide for our own defense. Unless convinced that we will unite and stay united behind these arms control initiatives and modernization programs, our adversaries will seek to divide us from one another and our peoples from their leaders.

I am optimistic about our relationship with the Soviet Union if the Western nations remain true to their values and true to each other. I believe in Western civilization and in its moral power. I believe deeply in the principles the West esteems. And guided by these ideals, I believe we can find a no-nonsense, workable, and lasting policy that will keep the peace. The journey ahead will not be easy. There are many obstacles to overcome, and many bridges to build. Yet if we persevere and if we succeed, perhaps Goethe's (Gerta's) familiar words will come true, "Beyond all the peaks is rest." The lives of our two nations are so intertwined. Let us climb and cross those peaks together.



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{ Bakshian/RR)
June 1, 1982
5:00 p.m.

PRESIDENT'S BERLIN SPEECH, CHARLOTTENBURG PALACE, JUNE 11, 1982

It was one of Germany's greatest sons, Goethe (Gerr-ta), who said that "there is strong shadow where there is much light." In our times, Berlin, more than any other place in the world, is such a meeting place of light and shadow, tyranny and freedom. To be here is truly to stand on freedom's edge and, in the shadow of a wall that has come to symbolize all that is darkest in the world today, to sense how shining and priceless -- and how much in need of constant vigilance and protection -- our legacy of liberty is.

This day marks a happy return for me. I paid my first visit to this great city more than 3 years ago, as a private citizen. As with every other visitor to Berlin, I came away with the vivid impression of a city that is more than a place on the map -- a city that is a testament to what is both most inspiring and most troubling about the time we live in.

Thomas Mann once wrote that "A man lives not only his personal life, as an individual, but also, consciously or unconsciously, the life of his epoch." Nowhere is this more true than in Berlin, where each moment of everyday life is spent against the backdrop of contending global systems and ideas. To be a Berliner is to live the great historic struggle of this age, the latest chapter in man's timeless quest for freedom.

As Americans, we understand this. Our commitment to Berlin is a lasting one. Thousands of our citizens have served here since the first small contingent of American troops arrived on

July 4, 1945, the anniversary of our own independence as a Nation. Americans have served here ever since -- not as conquerors, but as guardians of the freedom of the Western Zone and its brave, proud people.

Today, I want to pay tribute to my fellow countrymen, military and civilian, who serve their country and the people of Berlin and, in so doing, stand as sentinels of freedom everywhere.

But the American commitment to Berlin is much deeper than our military presence here. In the 37 years since World War II, a succession of American Presidents has made it clear that our role in Berlin is emblematic of our larger search for peace throughout Europe and the world.

Ten years ago this month, that search brought into force the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin. A decade later, West Berliners live more securely, can travel more freely and, most significantly, have more contact with friends and relatives in East Berlin and East Germany than was possible 10 years ago.

These achievements reflect the realistic approach of Allied negotiators who recognized that practical progress can be made even while basic differences remain between East and West. As a result, both sides have managed to handle their differences in Berlin without the clash of arms, to the benefit of all mankind.

But if we are heartened by the partial progress achieved in Berlin, other developments make us aware of the growing military power and expansionism of the Soviet Union. Instead of working with the West to reduce tensions and erase the danger of war, the

Soviet Union has engaged in the greatest military buildup in the history of the world. It has used its new-found might to ruthlessly pursue its goals around the world. As the sad case of Afghanistan proves, the Soviet Union has not always respected the precious right of national sovereignty it is committed to uphold as a signatory of the United Nations Charter. And, only one day's auto ride from here, in the great city of Warsaw, a courageous people suffer because they dared to strive for the very fundamental human rights which that Helsinki Final Act proclaimed.

The citizens of free Berlin appreciate better than anyone the importance of allied unity in the face of such challenges. Ten years after the Berlin Agreement, the hope it engendered for lasting peace remains a hope rather than a certainty. But the hopes of free people -- be they German or American -- are stubborn things. We will not be lulled or bullied into fatalism, into resignation. We believe that progress for just and lasting peace can be made -- that substantial areas of agreement can be reached with potential adversaries -- when the forces of freedom act with firmness, unity and a sincere willingness to negotiate.

To succeed at the negotiating table, we Allies have learned that a healthy military balance is a necessity. Yesterday, the other NATO heads of government and I agreed that it is essential to preserve and strengthen such a military balance. And let there be no doubt: the United States will continue to honor its commitment to Berlin. Our forces will remain here as long as necessary to preserve the peace and protect the freedom of the

people of Berlin. For us, the American presence in Berlin, as long as it is needed, is not a burden, but a sacred trust.

Ours is a defensive mission. We pose no threat to those who live on the other side of the Wall.

But we do extend a challenge -- a new Berlin initiative -- to the leaders of the Soviet bloc. It is a challenge for peace.

We challenge the men in the Kremlin to join with us in the quest for peace, security and a lowering of the tensions and weaponry that could lead to future conflict.

We challenge the Soviet Union, as we proposed last year, to eliminate their SS-20, SS-4, and SS-5 missiles. If Chairman Brezhnev agrees to this, we stand ready to forego all of our ground-launched cruise missiles and Pershing-II missiles.

We challenge the Soviet Union, as NATO proposed yesterday, to slash the conventional ground forces of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Central Europe to 700,000 men each, and the total ground and air forces of the two alliances to 900,000 men each.

And we challenge the Soviet Union to live up to the signature its leader placed on the Helsinki treaty, so that the basic human rights of Soviet and Eastern European peoples will be respected.

A positive Soviet response to these sincere and reasonable points -- these calls for conciliation instead of confrontation -- could open the door for a Conference on Disarmament in Europe.

We Americans are optimists -- but we are also realists. We are a peaceful people -- but we are not a weak or gullible

people. So we look with hope to the Soviet Union's response -- but we expect positive actions rather than rhetoric as the first proof of Soviet good intentions.

Peace, it has been said, is more than the absence of armed conflict. Reducing military forces alone will not automatically guarantee the long-term prospects of peace.

Several times in the 1950's and 1960's, the world went to the brink of war over Berlin. Those confrontations did not come because of military forces or operations alone. They arose because the Soviet Union refused to allow the free flow of peoples and ideas between East and West. And they came because the Soviet authorities and their minions repressed millions of citizens in Eastern Germany who did not wish to live under a communist dictatorship.

So I want to concentrate the second part of America's new Berlin initiative on ways to reduce the human barriers -- barriers as bleak and brutal as the Berlin Wall itself -- which divide Europe today.

If I had only one message to urge on the leaders of the Soviet bloc it would be this: Think of your own coming generations. Look with me 10 years into the future when we will celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Berlin Agreement. What then will be the fruits of our efforts? Do the Soviet leaders want to be remembered for a prison wall, ringed with barbed wire and armed guards whose weapons are aimed at innocent civilians? Do they want to conduct themselves in a way that will earn only

the contempt of free peoples and the distrust of their own citizens?

Or, do they want to be remembered for having taken up our offer to use Berlin as a starting point for true efforts to reduce the human and political divisions which are the ultimate cause of every war?

We in the West have made our choice. America and our Allies welcome peaceful competition -- in ideas, in economics, and in all facets of human activity. We seek no advantage. We covet no territory. And we wish to force no ideology or way of life on others.

The time has come, 10 years after the Berlin Agreement, to fulfill the promise it seemed to offer at its dawn. I call on President Brezhnev to join me in a sincere effort to translate the dashed hopes of the 1970's into the reality of a safer and freer Europe in the 1980's.

A united, resolute Western Alliance stands ready to defend itself if necessary, but we are also ready to work with the Soviet Bloc in peaceful cooperation if the leaders of the East are willing to respond in kind.

Let them remember the message of Schiller that only "He who has done his best for his own time has lived for all times." Let them join with us in our time to achieve a lasting peace and better life for tomorrow's generations on both sides of that blighted Wall, and let the Brandenburg Gate become a symbol not of two separate and hostile worlds, but an open door through which free ideas and peaceful competition flourish.

My final message is for the people of Berlin. Even before my first visit to your city, I felt a part of you, as all free men and women around the world do. We lived through the blockade and airlift with you, we witnessed the heroic reconstruction of a devastated city, and we watched the creation of your strong democratic institutions.

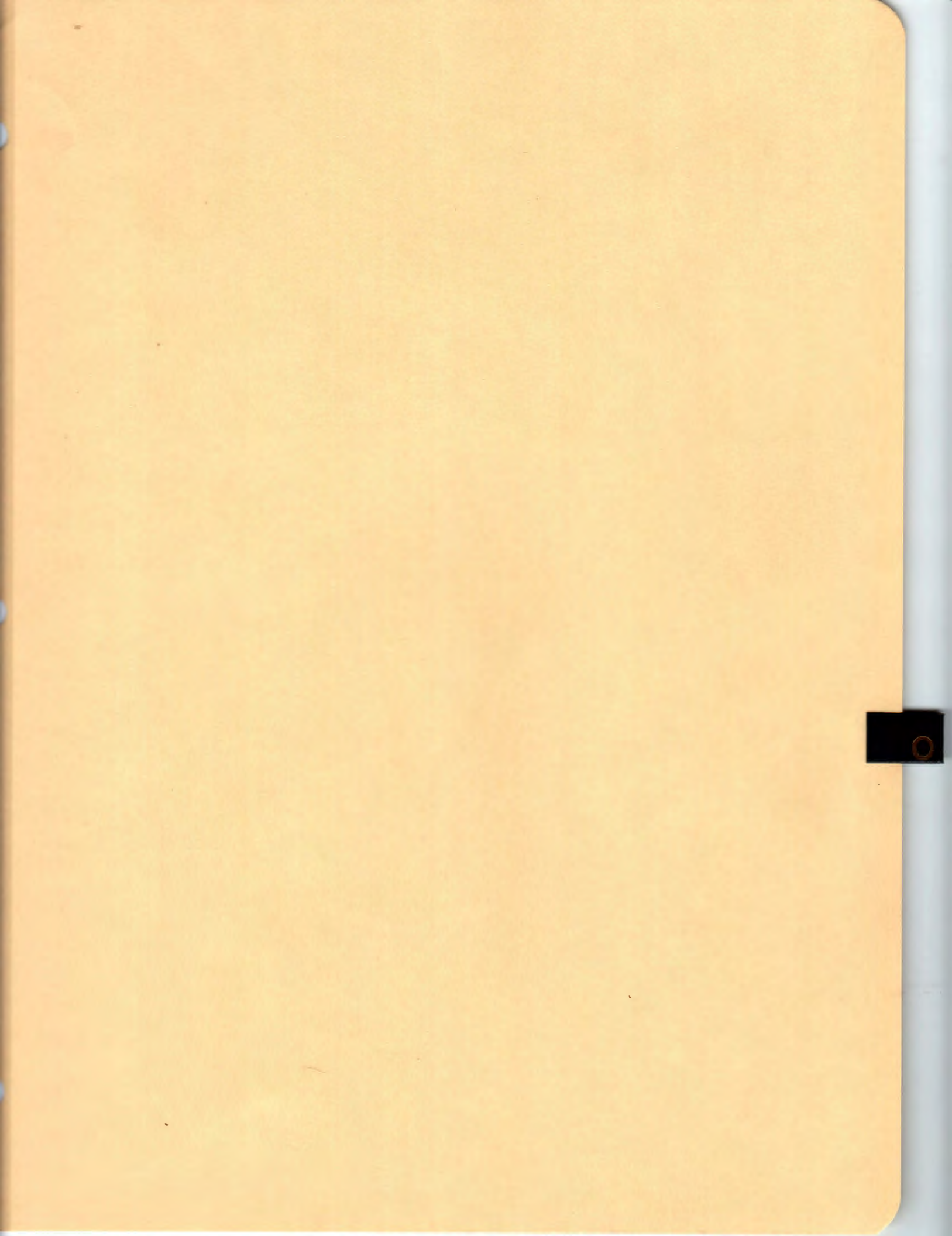
When I came here in 1978, I was deeply moved and proud of your success. What finer proof of what freedom can accomplish than the vibrant, prosperous island you have created in the midst of a hostile sea? Today, my reverence for your courage and accomplishment has grown even deeper.

You are a shining symbol for us all -- for our hopes and ideals, and for the human qualities of courage, endurance and faith that are the one secret weapon of the West no totalitarian regime can ever match. As long as Berlin exists, there can be no doubt about the hope for democracy.

Yes, the hated Wall still stands. But taller and stronger than that bleak barrier dividing East from West, free from oppressed, stands the character of the Berliners themselves.

You have endured in your splendid city on the Spree, and my return visit has convinced me, in the words of the beloved old song, that "Berlin bleibt doch Berlin" [Berleen bliibt dawk Berleen] -- Berlin is still Berlin."

I can only add that we in America and the West are still Berliners, too, and always will be. And I am proud to say today that it is good to be home again.



(Bakshian)
May 26, 1982
2:30 p.m.

DEPARTURE REMARKS FROM WEST GERMANY, COLOGNE/BONN REFUELING STOP
JUNE 11, 1982

Nancy and I are grateful for the warmth and friendship we have encountered throughout our short visits to Bonn and Berlin. In Berlin, I looked across that tragic wall and saw the grim consequences of freedom denied. But I was deeply inspired by the courage and dedication to liberty which I saw in so many faces on the western side of the city. The purpose of my trip to Bonn was to consult both with leaders of the German government and my colleagues from other Allied nations. Both aspects of the visit have been a great success. We did not seek to avoid the problems facing the West in coming years. We met them head-on and discovered that, as always, what unites us is much deeper and more meaningful than any differences which might exist. I leave with new optimism about the future of the Western World.

I also leave with a very warm feeling about the people of Bonn, Berlin and the Federal Republic. Diplomacy is important, but friendship leaves an even more lasting impression. Your friendship for us has been an especially moving experience. Nancy and I are personally very touched by your hospitality. I know, however, that this greeting was meant not only for us, but for the entire American people.

German-American friendship is truly one of the lasting foundations of Western cooperation and peace and freedom in the

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world. And this visit has convinced me that ours is a friendship that cannot be shaken.

I thank you all from the bottom of my heart. Goodbye and, until we meet again, auf wiedersehen (awf-weeder-zane).